1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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days. Nearly three thousand females, and six thousand males, assembled on Thursday. To crown all the confusion, there appeared nearly a thousand Badagas armed with new mamotis (spades). They came on dancing for some distance, rushed into the crowd, and danced round the car. These Badagas belonged to a gang of public works, local fund, and municipal maistries. On the last day a sheep was slaughtered in honour of the deity. The musicians throughout the festivities were Kotas and Kurumbas. The dancing of the men of three score showed that they danced to music, and the stepping was admirable, while the dancing of young men did not show that they had any idea of dancing, or either taste or knowledge of music. They were merely skipping and jumping. This shows that the old art of the Badaga dance is fast decaying." The cot is eventually burnt at the burning-ground, as if it contained a corpse.

A kind of edible truffle (*Mylitta lapidescens*) is known as little man's bread on the Nīlgiris. The Badaga legendary name for it is Pāndva-unna-buthi, or dwarf bundle of food,* *i.e.*, food of the dwarfs, who are supposed once to have inhabited the Nīlgiris and built the pāndu kūlis or kistvaens.

The story goes that Lord Elphinstone, a former Governor of Madras, was anxious to build a residence at Kaiti. But the Badagas, who had on the desired site a sacred tree, would not part with the land. The Governor's steward succeeded in making the Badaga headman drunk, and secured, for a rental of thirty-five rupees annually, the site, whereon a villa was built, which now belongs to the Basel Mission.†

* Report, Government Botanic Gardens, Nilgiris, 1903.
† E. Schmidt. Reise nach Sudindien, 1894.

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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curable illnesses is described (Chapters 5-8). Some emphasis is placed on reproduction and sexuality (Chapters 3 and 4), because reproductive success is the ultimate test of any society's adaptation to its environment. The role of the therapist and associated specialists, and their relations with their clients, is an extremely critical factor in the maintenance of a folk medical system. Equally important to the propagation of this knowledge is the recruitment of apprentices and the relationships they develop with a therapist (Chapter 10). Care of the living body and the advent of death receive some consideration (Chapters 2 and 9). Finally, this study may be of particular interest to pharmacologists because it identifies each of the substances used in every medicament described (Chapters 4-7).

Differential interaction between Badagas and their environment — an environment which does of course include disease organisms — has over some 20 generations led to a survival of the healthier individuals, a higher fertility, and in general a steady expansion of their occupancy of the Nilgiri Massif, beginning with the founding of Tu:ne:ri village in the sixteenth century on the arrival of a few dozen refugees, and culminating in the very large and prosperous population of today (Diagram 1). The medical ethnography which follows will attempt to delineate the important factors in their adaptation.

Introducing the Badagas

1.2. The Badagas are a community of Hindu peasants who numbered 104,919 people in the official census of 1971. They live almost entirely on the Nilgiri Massif, which is in the westernmost corner of Tamil Nadu State, India, some 11°N from the Equator. The great majority of them are potato, cabbage and tea cultivators, but until the early years of this century they were farming such subsistence crops as barley, wheat, and several millets. The fields surround their villages and farms. They rarely irrigate, but rely instead on the two regular monsoons. Some people also keep herds of buffalo and cattle for milk and other dairy products, but not for meat.

Their long rows of brick houses lie along the leeward slopes of the hills, and are thus protected from the worst of the rains. In every village there are also temples or shrines to various Hindu gods. Badagas are nearly all Hindus of Saivite persuasion; two small but significant minorities are the Lingayats and the Christians.

a ghost asks for.

The sixth category of supernatural beings, a group to whom private prayers are often directed in the home, are the great national heroes. These are primarily Mr. Nehru, the late Prime Minister, Subhas Chandra Bose, the Bengali patriot, and above all Mahatma Gandhi. People disagree about the nature of their great power over men; but many Badagas certainly regard them as enlightened saints. Nehru seems to symbolize political power, Bose military power, and Gandhi spiritual power.

Hindu saints are really the seventh category of supernatural beings. Saints, prophets and spiritual leaders, like the national heroes, are worshipped in the home. A small room at one end of the veranda contains framed lithographic prints of such beings, and here the men of the household -- and sometimes the women -- will address their prayers to the depicted pantheon. The collection of framed household deities regularly includes such beings as Śiva and his family, saints like Sai Baba, Swami Vivekananda, Buddha and Jesus Christ (Ranga 1934: 63), political leaders like Nehru, Gandhi, S.C. Bose and K. Kamaraj (then President of the Congress Party), and a portrait of the most recently deceased head of the family. Jesus and Mary are widely respected powers: Badagas who live near to a church sometimes make contributions to the Christians' poor fund at Christmas, and it is not uncommon to see Śaivites present at the Christmas-Eve service in the Protestant church, and at the Easter procession of the Catholic church. One Lingayat man has pictures only of Jesus and the Madonna in his house, and does a daily meditation before them.

Every hamlet feels that to have any prestige in the eyes of others it must at least boast a temple structure for its god or gods. Even so, there are many deities that are embodied only in a rough stone object standing under a tree or

beside a stream somewhere. Some very small hamlets still have nothing more like a temple than such an object; but usually they will erect at least a small shed over the image. The average-sized hamlet (of perhaps 80-100 households) has four or five built temples, as well as various minor shrines of the kind just described. In addition there is normally a large temple common to the whole "village". Three temples in the Nilgiris (at Melur, Bokkapur and Bergani) attract devotees from all over the District for their annual festivals (Francis 1908: 316-317, 339-340). The larger temples all have Haruva or Gauda priests, and worship is done regularly once a day or once a week. Smaller temples may only be used once or twice a year, and then at a particular festival. While priests are appointed from among the villagers, or may sometimes be hereditary roles in certain families, they officiate only in their own hamlet or "village", and there is no kind of wider church-like organization to Badaga Śaivism. For the past century, however, Badagas have been making pilgrimages to various of the major South Indian temple centers, the closest being Perur, near Coimbatore, Nanjangud, near Mysore, and Palni. There has thus been contact in recent times with the "great tradition" and its philosophical literature; and this has had the effect of bringing Badaga religious practices closer to those of the plainsmen. This topic will be considered later in the thesis (cf. Chapter VII).

Lingayatism, otherwise known as Vīraśaivism, is one of the more important and most recent schools to develop in Śaivite philosophy. The origin of the present Lingayat philosophical system, qua system, can be traced quite reliably to ca. 1160 A.D. at the Central Indian city of Kalyana, where it was formulated by a saint named Basava. After him came many followers and com-

177 533 are Tamil, not Badagu. Very many of the Badaga hamlets have built a bhajan house specifically for use during evenings of devotion. Such houses are owned by the hamlet in common and are considered as temples. Inside the bhajan house will be a number of lithographic prints of Kriśna and other gods, and perhaps an image. During the course of a devotional evening, puja will be done to the image or to some of the lithographs. Not everyone in a hamlet is interested in the bhajan form of worship, however; but its popularity is clearly increasing, for it has its strongest following among the village youths. Once a year small donations are offered for the support of the bhajan group by every household in the hamlet where it is performed. An increasing interest in bhajans has been noted elsewhere in South India (cf. Singer 1959: 148-49).

177 795 2) Lingayats, too, have developed their ties with the plains. Before this century they knew little about the Vīraśaiva religion in their Mysore home-land. Perhaps once a year a Lingayat guru would wander up into the Nilgiris from Nanjangud (so says Harkness 1832: 137); but whatever he might be able to teach about the Lingayat faith would have to be transmitted entirely by word of mouth. In the 20th Century, on the other hand, the Badaga Lingayats have become literate, and some of them read books on Lingayat philosophy quite avidly. Cheap transportation has also enabled them to make pilgrimages to some of the places that are sacred in Vīraśaiva belief, and to meet well-informed monks and jangamas in the towns of Mysore State.

177 582 One significant fruit of this increased contact has been the occurrence of a number of marriages, during the present century, between Badaga Lingayat men and Kanarese Lingayat girls; even a few of the conservative Wodeyas have taken this (578) step. The move for marital links with Mysore has not been met with equanimity by

241 with mixed plants are also maintained, but these gardens may be miles away from their owners' houses and on outer Nilgiri slopes. Because
423 land is divided equally among sons upon a father's death, extensive
428 land fragmentation has taken place. To prevent further fragmentation, there is now a tendency for sons to share and jointly manage land.
311 Communal pastures are close enough to permit the keeping of livestock
361 in communities. Individually owned and communal plots covered with
245 acacia, eucalyptus, and temperate fruit trees now occur near Badaga
137 communities. Due to intensive or slowly continued tempera-- forest
318 clearance, only a few small remnant patches of natural fore -ain on the slopes near many hamlets and villages.

361 The outstanding features of Badaga hamlets and villages are the
351 house-rows with compacted earth courtyards edged by low walls (Figure 17). House rows within a single community usually parallel each other and are frequently aligned in an easterly-westerly direction, but on
361 flatter terrain they may surround a courtyard on two sides. Because
364 the Badagas consider it sinful to throw waste water toward the sun,
783 Lord Shiva's emblem, through alignment of houses in an easterly-westerly direction housewives may throw waste water through the back door or over the front courtyard wall without throwing it toward the sun.
841 One dwelling within a community house-row is set apart as a confinement place for menstruating women or women undergoing a postnatal pollution
• 368 period. In addition to dwellings, house-like temples are built into
243 house-rows. Grain is threshed and agricultural produce or firewood is
313 dried on the courtyards. These also serve as playgrounds for children,
857 as sites for performance of ceremonial rites, and as dance arenas
796
535

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 123

857 during festive occasions. Badaga woman frequently, sometimes daily,
796 wash over sections fronting their houses with coudung solution to keep
535 the courtyards flattened out and cleansed. Low earthen or stone walls
956 edging courtyards define property limits and add to the privacy of
351 house inhabitants living within house-rows immediately below. Badaga women sometimes store firewood or keep flower gardens on the wall tops, but they are usually grass covered.

•968 Separate shrines and temples stand in communities or on grassy plots outside. Some Badagas own storage huts where agricultural implements, fertilizer, seed-potatoes, and agricultural produce are
366 stored. Small coffee, tea, and supply shops are increasing in number within Badaga villages. Hot beverages, as well as hotmeats, sweetmeats, rice, and curry, are served in the coffee and tea shops. From supply shops are obtained cigarettes, matches, grains, pulses, and vegetables. Areca nut, betel leaf, lime, and perhaps tobacco, which are combined and chewed, are also sold. Blacksmiths, building and supply contractors, carpenters, jewellers, and other entrepreneurs have established
968 businesses in Badaga villages. A single government office, or combination of offices such as panchayat, police, post, and telegraph offices may also be present. Church or government schools are now located in or near many communities.

231 Hamlets and villages still have circular cattle-pens built in
[361] natural depressions or enclosed with stone walls, but cattle-hut construction is slowly leading to abandonment of the pens. Goats and sheep are kept at night on raised platforms within goat- and sheep-
(654) huts. Monetary inducements offered by the Madras Government have

231 caused some rearers of livestock to start keeping compost pits. In
654 each hamlet or village there is usually a grassy clearing or raised
368 platform where male representatives meet and Badagas gather to chit-
chat. A large tree (often a Ficus sp.) may shade this meeting place.
312 Some Badaga women still must fetch water from nearby springs or
streams, but many Badaga hamlets and villages now have water piped to
368 faucets set near house-rows. A burial-cremation center is within easy
walking distance from each Badaga community. Most Badaga communities
491 have roads running to or through them, and a fair number of these
363 roads are asphalted. Scheduled buses run over some roads, and a few
494 Badagas now drive individually or jointly owned cars, buses, station
493 wagons, and trucks.

Houses. Prior to 1840 the Badagas lived in a house type with
175 front porches and two rooms separated by a wall with a door. A small
342 front door led into one room, and there was a fireplace in the other
[350 darker room. Thatched roofs were supported by posts, and walls made
(824) with bamboos or reeds woven between the posts were then daubed. How-
(333) ever, some houses had clay and stone walls (Harkness 1832: 36; Birch
1838: 103; Hough 1829: 89). According to data obtained by Jagor
342 (1876: 193-194), each thatched clay and stone house in an examined
house-row had an entranceway leading on the right to a front room.
This room had a right side storage platform and a mortar built into
the floor on the left. From the front room a door led to a bathroom
extending the full width of the house, and another door led to a
(954) kitchen paralleling the front room. The fireplace for cooking was

351 and house floors is not only an ancient Hindu custom, but a useful
356 one in that it helps keep termites away.

Rice is everywhere the predominant food crop, and wet rice
243 production is concentrated in broad valley bottoms (Plate XII, A).
As a result, valley sides are seldom terraced. All Badaga houses,
361 whether they be within nucleated centers or scattered around, are
located on hillsides or hilltops next to lower-lying wet rice fields.
Women thus have to fetch water from streams in the valleys below.
(343) Occasionally, small huts or shelters (pandals) for storage or work
•368 are erected near houses. Nilgiri Wynaad Badagas do not build temples
in house-rows, but do construct temples in separate worship centers
231 with pagoda trees. After the single wet rice harvest, buffaloes and
a few cattle are kept at night in periodically shifted circular bam-
boo pens erected on dried fields. While rice is growing, the same
livestock are housed nightly in huts with no set form located at some
distance from dwellings. Threshing floors and stacked hay lie near
241 dwellings. Most houses are surrounded by multilayer gardens which
offer cooling shade during each dry season and protection against
torrential rain with high winds during the rainy monsoon seasons.
Close to houses there may also be small kitchen gardens or single
layer gardens. Scattered dry fields on hills are located near or at
231 some distance from houses. Livestock (goats and sheep were not seen
by me) are grazed on 1) rice stubble left after each rice harvest,
2) grasses growing over dry fields untilled for some time, 3) grasses
within nearby degenerate dry and moist deciduous forest or bamboo
968 thickets, and 4) savannas. In the area associated with each community

368 there is a burial-cremation center. All communities are in easy walking distance from roads, and narrow paths--sometimes running over dikes separating wet rice fields--are used to gain access to roads.

361 487

Houses, temples, and shrines. Excluding certain resemblances

342 in the interior plan, the Nilgiri Wynaad Badaga house type is quite

[184] different from the one used by upper Nilgiri Badagas. Each house has an earthen platform, often partially made with fine earth from termite hills (Figures 22 and 23). Six large posts embedded in the platform are surmounted by pole plates supporting a series of rafters. Out from these posts, on or along the edge of the platform, there are additional lesser posts surmounted by pole plates supporting the rafters. The steep-sided hipped roof slopes down from a short horizontal crest to a height of about five feet from the ground (Plate

(824) XII, B). Most roofs have rice straw thatch over bamboo strips lashed onto rafters, but a few houses now have tiled roofs. A rectangular house wall raised around the six large posts is constructed with mud similar to that used in the platform. The wall is built around wooden door frames and occasional window frames. Because there is space left between the wall and platform edges, a veranda runs around the house. An entranceway edged by shallow walls, typically made by Nilgiri Wynaad Badagas, often runs across the veranda. In a house-row some side walls serve two houses, the roof crest is elongated, and a ver-

[353] anda usually runs around the combined houses. A shrine or storage room built next to a normal dwelling is incorporated into a house-row. If a house front is considered to be the side edging a courtyard,